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## SOME CRUCES IN THE LANGDON EPIC.

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### I

SINCE LANGDON'S PUBLICATION of the *Sumerian Epic of Paradise, the Flood, and the Fall of Man* in 1915, a very remarkable divergency of opinion in regard to its interpretation has arisen. Even the translations disagree to an extent which would have delighted the heart of Von Gutschmidt, the harsh censor of young Assyriology. There is, however, no excuse for discouragement; thanks to the efforts of a few scholars much has been accomplished already.<sup>1</sup> In dealing with a loosely-jointed, composite production of a mythological nature, the best method of solution is philological, liberally assisted by comparative mythological data and analogies. To Jastrow's position of vantage in this field is largely due his success in elucidating difficult passages (e. g. obv. II, 20-32), and in comprehending the text as a whole. To Langdon's learning and experience in Sumeriology we surely owe enough; his moreover is the honor of having discovered and first translated the poem. Let us hope that *AJSL*<sup>2</sup> 33. 245 is not meant to exclude the right of the κυνάρια, ἐσθίειν ἀπὸ

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<sup>1</sup> For the bibliography see Barton, *AJTh* 21. 576, n. 2, and, in addition to the papers there listed, note: Scheil, *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1915, 526-537; Fossey, *Revue Critique*, 1917, 273-276; Langdon, *ET* 29. 218-221 (Feb. 1918).

<sup>2</sup> Note the following abbreviations: *AJSL* = *American Journal of Semitic Languages*; *AJTh* = *American Journal of Theology*; *ASKT* = Haupt, *Akkadische und Sumerische Keilschrifttexte*; *BA* = *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*; *CT* = *Cuneiform Texts*; *ET* = *Expository Times*; *HGT* = Poebel, *Historical and Grammatical Texts*; *HW* = Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*; *JAOS* = *Journal of the American Oriental Society*; *JBL* = *Journal of Biblical Literature*; *KB* = *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*; *MYAG* = *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*; *OLZ* = *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*; *RT* = *Recueil de Travaux*; *SBP* = Langdon, *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms*; *SEP* = Langdon, *Sumerian Epic of Paradise*, etc.; *SG* = Delitzsch, *Sumerische Grammatik*; *SGL* = Delitzsch, *Sumerisches Glossar*; *SLT* = Langdon, *Sumerian Liturgical Texts*; *VB* = *Vorderasiatische Bibliothek*; *ZA* = *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*.

τῶν ψυχίων τῶν πιπτόντων ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης, or to make a few independent contributions.

In general I am in accord with Jastrow's views of the character of our text, which evidently describes the return of life and fertility to the world at the beginning of our age.<sup>3</sup> The central motive, about which the various myths revolve, is the divine gift of the inundation, a matter of fundamental importance in an alluvial country where the rainfall is so unsatisfactory as in Babylonia—averaging now about eight or nine inches a year at Baghdad, while the summer is quite rainless. Jastrow, Prince, and Barton are almost certainly correct in opposing Langdon's view that Tilmun is represented in the poem as the seat of paradise; it is, however, unmistakably regarded as the original home of the race.<sup>4</sup>

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\* The Sumerians unquestionably had developed a theory of world ages, the prototype of the Indian *yuga* system. The starting point of the conception was probably the effort to harmonize conflicting cosmogonies, a difficulty bound to become serious in a country where every important city had in early times its own pantheon and liturgy. As I expect to treat the matter in a special paper, I will refer here only to the beginning of the fragmentary text discovered and edited by Poebel (*HGT* no. 1). Col. I, 2 ff. reads: *nam-là-gàl-mu ga-lam-ma-bi-a ga-ba-n[i-ib-gí-gí,] dNin-tu-ra níg-dím-dím-ma-mu sig[-sig-ga-bi-a(?)]* *ga-ba-ni-ib-gí-gí, uku ki-ùr-bi-ta ga-ba-ni-ib-gur-ru-dè, uru ki-me-a-bi gè-im-mi-in-dú, gissu* (*SGL* 278)-*bi ní-ga-ba-ab-dub-bu* = 'My mankind on its destruction I will [restore]; for (the sake of) Nintu my creation [after its over]throw(?) I will restore; I will restore the people to its settlements; let it build cities wherever their sites may be; its (or their) tabu (or the like) I will remove.' The rendering of the last line is somewhat subject to doubt; *ní-dub* means 'rest, and 'cause to rest, annul' (*kuppuru*; the original meaning may have been 'strike with fear, make motionless'—contrast *SGL* 144). *Gissu*, 'shadow' (*GIŠ-GE* = *çillu*), can hardly mean 'protection,' the usual metaphoric sense of the word, but rather means 'place under protection, whose violation is prohibited.' Frank is probably right (*Religion*, p. 108) in explaining *AN-ZIL-LU*, synonym of *ikkibu*, 'tabu' (a loan from Sum. (*n*)*íg-gíg* > *iggib*) as *íçillu*, 'the divine shadow,' though *andullu*, 'shadow, protection,' which resembles it superficially in form, cannot be so explained; for the meaning cf. the Jastrow fragment of the Etana myth, rev. 9, *íçilla ša ilâni ašakku tâku* = 'thou didst incur the guilt of transgression against the gods' (for the idiom note *garçê akâlu*, 'slander,' and *ikkiba akâlu*, 'transgress'), where we find the *íçillu* glossed as 'the *ašakku* demon.'—The 'restoration' in the Poebel text involves a previous extinction, complete or partial; cf. Barton *AJTh* 21. 575 f. (whose translation of l. 5 f. is grammatically impossible).

<sup>4</sup> See my article, *The Mouth of the Rivers*, to appear in *AJSL*.

In this paper the following passages will be discussed in full: obv. II, 1-19; III, 9 ff. = 29 ff.; rev. II. Other passages will be touched on incidentally.

## II

The first six lines of the second column contain an address of the goddess Ninella to her father and husband Enki, begging him to create the fecundating water, as her woman's heart longs for offspring. Lines 7-8 are apparently the joyful exclamation of a third person, who corresponds roughly to the Greek chorus, inserted in order to guide the mood of the audience and check interruption. In 9-11 Enki replies favorably to his daughter's request, and in 13-19 the consummation is described. The rest of the column gives a somewhat different version, emphasizing, as Jastrow has shown, the sexual aspect of the inundation. The same idea certainly lay behind our episode as well. The cuneiform text reads as follows:

- gìr<sup>5</sup>-ma-an-gal-la-za a ġé-im-ta-è-dè<sup>6</sup>*  
*uru-zu a-ġé-gál-la ġu-mu-ra-nag-nag*  
*Tilmun<sup>ki</sup> a-ġé-gál-la etc.*  
*dul a-šeš-a-zu dul a-dúg-ga ġé-im etc.*
5. *uru-zu è-gú-kar-ra kalam-ma-ka ġé-a*  
*Tilmun<sup>ki</sup> è etc.*  
*ì-ne-šù <sup>d</sup>Babbar ud-dè-a*  
*<sup>d</sup>Babbar an-na gub-bi-e*  
*gìr-du a-dù-EZEN-ki-na-ta*
10. *è-suġur-si<sup>7</sup> <sup>d</sup>Nanna-a-ta*  
*ka-a-ki-a-lāġ-ta a-dúg-ki-ta mu-na-ra-gina*  
*gìr-ma-an-gal-la-na a im-ta-è-dè*  
*uru-ni a-ġé-gál-la im-ta-nag-nag*  
*Tilmun<sup>ki</sup> a-ġé etc.*
15. *dul a-šeš-a-ni a-dúg-ga na-nam*

\* \* \*

<sup>6</sup> The orthographic accents in the article are, so far as practicable, those of Delitzsch, who is, however, as niggardly in this respect as Langdon is prodigal.

<sup>7</sup> *Dè* is not a particle, but part of the verb *è-dè*, which may, as has been suggested, be connected with *u-dè*—hardly identical, in view of the fact that *u-dè* (SGI 45) is spelled *uḏ-dè* in l. 7.

<sup>7</sup> So read now instead of *e* by all scholars; for *è* see below.

19. *ì-ne-šù d̄Babbar ud-dè-a ur(ĠAR)-ġé-na-nam-ma =*

“‘From thy great twin sources (?) may the water come forth;

May thy city drink water in abundance;

May Tilmun (drink) water in abundance;

May thy well of brackish<sup>8</sup> water be a well of sweet water;

## 5. May thy city be a house in which the land (i. e. people) is gathered;

May Tilmun be a house (in which the land is gathered).’”

“Now, O sun,<sup>9</sup> arise!

O sun, take thy place in heaven!”

“From the place where the waters flow forth from their womb,

From the full store-house of the moon-god,

From the flowing springs of the earth, from the place of sweet water it shall come forth for thee.”

From his great twin sources (?) the water came forth;

His city drank water in abundance;

Tilmun drank water in abundance;

His well of brackish water became indeed sweet water.

\* \* \*

“Now, O sun, shine forth!”—Verily it was so.’

The word *girman* is otherwise unknown, and Langdon leaves it, therefor, untranslated. Of the other suggestions one alone is to be seriously considered, Jastrow’s ‘reservoir,’ which suits the context admirably. My suggestion is based upon an article to appear soon, entitled *The Mouth of the Rivers*, in which it is shown that *id-ka-min-na* means ‘source of the two rivers,’ instead

<sup>8</sup> This is the most accurate translation of *a-šeš*. The contrast between *a-šeš* and *a-dūg* is paralleled in Mandaean literature by מִיָּא תִּאֲרִימָא and מִיָּא נִיָּא.

<sup>9</sup> The vernal sun is to set the appointed season for the arrival of the inundation, just as the daily revolution of the sun sets the time for the approach of the hurricane in the Deluge-poem, l. 87: *adāna šamaš iškunā-ma*, ‘the sun set the appointed time.’ As Haupt has emphasized, *šamaš* is not a *deus ex machina*, but merely the heavenly orb. Barton’s view that the sun is to bring the water is unparalleled, and syntactically out of the question; cf. l. 19. The sun is mentioned after the inundation simply because it is required then to bring quick maturity to the crops; note the scenes representing fertilization of the date palm, where the two genii hold the winged solar disc over the tree with cords.

of 'mouth (*ostium*) of the two rivers.' *Girman* will be a form like *sagman*, 'twins,' lit. 'two head,' a compound from *kir* (*KA*), 'mouth' (*SGL* 119)<sup>10</sup> and *man*, 'two' (*min*, *mun*; see below); for *gir* and *kir* cf. *gir* and *kir* = *nagarruru*, 'run,' and *gir* and *kir* = *qarâçu*, 'gnaw, break off' (*SGL* 92. 119). The interchange of surds and sonants is very common in Sumerian, although it is by no means free from the operation of the usual phonetic laws. The two mouths are the sources of the two rivers, for which the Babylonians, naturally enough, felt a superstitious reverence.

Line 9 is unquestionably difficult, but it is not so desperate as Barton thinks (*AJTh* 21. 580, n. 1); our rendering is based on a happy idea of his which he failed to follow up. As he suggested, *EZEN* is here probably equivalent to *kirimmu*, 'womb,' despite the fact that in his *Babylonian Writing*, 2. 91, 'womb' is included among the values belonging to the sign *SAR*. However, *kirimmu* must evidently be referred to *EZEN*, with the pronunciations *šer* and *keš(da)*, 'bind, enclose,' as the usual Sum. equivalent of *kirimmu* is *liru*, meaning properly 'enclosure' (*umâšu*, *abâru*). *Kirimmu* itself may be derived from the stem *kamâru-karâmu*, 'cover, overwhelm'; cf. mod. Arab. *kâmara*, 'cover,' and Assy. *nakrimânu*, 'leather bag,' etc. The phrase *dù-EZEN* is difficult to separate from *liru-dù* (*pašâru ša kirimmi*), which, though used *ASKT* 84, 41, pathologically, of rupture of the uterus (*Haupt*), was presumably also employed like Heb. פֶּטֶר רָחֵם of the first opening of the womb. The *a-dù-EZEN* are to be understood in the light of such conceptions as the *Kinderbrunnen* in the lap of mother earth, the source of infants in folklore (*Dieterich, Mutter Erde*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 18 ff., 125 f.). The mouth from which a river emerges may be regarded as the vulva or *Muttermund* of the earth.<sup>11</sup> This idea and its converse, that

<sup>10</sup> For *kir*, 'mouth, hole,' note also *CT* 18. 34c, 34-5, *KA(kir)-AG-A* = *parâçu*, 'split' (فرض; *furda* = 'mouth of a river'), and *KA-GAR(kirgur)-AG-A* = *parâçu ša pilaqqi*, 'split, said of a double-ax'; *kirgur-kid(AG)da* also = *qardu* (*SGL* 115), perhaps (the equations are often loose) 'wielder of the battle-ax,' as 'warrior, hero.'

<sup>11</sup> For *ka* and *pû* as 'river-source' see my article on the *Mouth of the Rivers*; for *pû*, 'vulva,' see *CT* 12. 36. 1 ff., where *SAL* + *LAGAR*, with the pronunciation *murûb* (lit. 'middle') = *pûm*, also the equivalent of *KA* and *TE* + *UNU*. Since the same ideogram is rendered also by *hiġbu* and *urû*, both names of the *puġendum muliebre*, there can be no possible doubt that *pû* has that meaning; cf. also Heb. פֶּטֶר (פֶּת) 'vulva,' for \**pātu*, a feminine formation from *pû*.

the female vagina is a well or fountain, are found everywhere, and may be traced back to the beginnings of language. Thus we have *naqbu*, 'source,' and Heb. *neqebá*, 'female'; Heb. נֶאֱבָר and בֹּר, 'well,' applied to 'mistress' or 'wife' (Cant. 4. 12, 15; Ecc. 12. 1), while the cognate *bī* is employed in Egyptian for 'vagina' (also 'shaft of mine,' etc.; the etymology is due to Ember); Sum. *buru*, 'river, river-head,' and 'vagina'; Sk. *jarta*, 'vulva,' Goth. *kilþei*, 'womb,' connected with *Quelle*, etc. Some examples in this category may, of course, have arisen through the accidents of semasiological development; cf. also on the conception the remarks of Eisler, *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt*, 2. 380, to be taken *cum grano salis*. *Nidda Ierûš*. 51 b says, commenting on Pr. 5: 18, 'יהי מקורך ברוך, רם נרה מן, המקור,' 'the menstrual blood comes from the fountain.' In view of line 10, where the water is further drawn from the storehouse (see below) of the moon-god, it is very tempting to see in our passage an allusion to a primitive theory, or rather fancy, seeing in the water of the rivers the menstrual flow from the lap of the earth-mother, which occurred with every new moon (see below). While the idea may seem grotesque to us, it is superior to the Egyptian fancy that the Nile was the semen produced by the continuous onanism of Osiris, a gross notion later softened to the more obscure but more decent formula that the river was the efflux of the god's body (see my article 'Gilgames and Engidu,' to appear in *JAOS*). The standard conception in both lands was, of course, that the river was the semen of the god of fertility, Osiris or Enki, etc., fecundating the earth-mother, a process described most vividly in our text, as Jastrow has demonstrated, the coitus being circumstantially depicted, and gestation lasting for nine months, as the poet makes perfectly clear, thanks to his monthly bulletin. No student of the popular mind will be worried by the incompatibility of these different notions, as the most antipodal ideas often occur side by side in the same myth.—The syntax of our line is complex, but sound; it would be literally translated by 'foot-moving the water which opens the womb place its from.' For the construction cf. *SG* §§38e and 208; *na* is the retrospective pronoun, sometimes used to indicate a genitive chain, though Delitzsch's principal illustration, *id-ka-a-na-ta*, must be read *id-ka-min-na-ta*, the *na* being simply phonetic complement.

Following my suggestion that we might read *ê-suġur* in line 10, Professor Jastrow kindly collated the text, and reached the

conclusion that this is the correct reading. *Ê-suġur* is given CT 12. 41, col. II, 27/8 as synonym of *ê-ša-ġé-dagal-[la]*, literally, 'house in which there is abundance,' i. e., 'store-house' (cf. *SGL* 254), both with the Semitic equivalent *šaġuru*, evidently a loan from Sum. *saġur*, 'pot, amphora,' given in line 25 of the same vocabulary; *ê-suġur* should be correctly *ê-saġur*, an expression precisely like *ê-gur* = *bît karê*, 'granary,' lit. 'house of grain-jars'; *šaġuru* would be a subauditional term like *karû*, which may mean 'granary' by itself. An etymology from *suġur*, 'crown of a palm, beard, barbel,' etc. is clearly out of the question.<sup>12</sup>

The conception that the waters are confined in store-houses is found sporadically all over the Orient, but under the influence of Babylonian thought it became part of the stock in trade of Rabbinic and Syriac cosmography. We first find it in Ps. 33. 7, *הַיָּם נָתַן בַּאֲצִרֹת תְּהוֹמוֹת* (sic) *כִּנֵּם כְּנֹר* = 'He who gathers the waters of the sea as in a skin-bottle, who puts the subterranean (fresh) waters in store-houses.' In Enoch, 18. 1; 34-36; 41. 4; 60. 11-12, etc., the chambers or store-houses of all the elements are elaborately described, especially those of the

<sup>12</sup> The primary meaning of *suġur* is foliage of a tree, crown of a palm,' Akk. *qimmat iġġi* (especially of the tamarisk, *binu*, and the palm, *gišim-maru*). The earliest certain forms of the sign *suġur* (Barton, *BA* 9. 1. 95) almost certainly depict the crown of a palm (pace Barton, in the second part), as will be evident from the comparison of the stereotyped Assyrian pictures of palms; cf., e. g., Von Luschan, *Die ionische Säule*, pp. 22-26.

*Qimmatu*, 'crown of foliage,' is Ar. قِمَّة, 'summit,' and must be separated from *kimmatu*, 'enclosure,' belonging with كَم, 'envelope.' *SGL* 253 *suġ(ur)-suġ(ur)* is given the values *šummuṭu* (Ar. شِمط, privative, 'deprive of foliage'), *qamāmu* (قَم, 'sweep off, devour,' also privative), *itkulu*, 'devour,' and *nuq(q)urum*, 'destroy,' values which explain the development of *suġ* = *šubbû*, *nasābû*, 'tear out, destroy' (similarly شِبَط means 'tear out a plant' in modern Arabic). *Suġur-sû-lâl* = *zignatu*, 'beard,' is lit. 'foliage hanging from the lip.' Holma has shown (*Kleine Beiträge*, p. 32) that the *suġur*-fish is the bearded carp, or barbel, which is, according to Layard (*Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 482), the principal fish of Babylonia, often attaining considerable size. Hence the *suġur*-fish was the emblem of Enki, along with the wild goat or ibex, the two being merged together as the goat fish, with the beard as the *tertium comparationis*. Frank's objections to Holma's discovery (*ZA* 29. 192 f.) are most unfortunate; he shows, however, that the Assyrian name of the fish was *p/buradu*, perhaps to be derived from *parādu*, 'be swift.'



winds, hail, mist, snow, and rain; cf. also Job 38. 22. In the Mandaean system (Brandt, *Mandäische Religion*, p. 63) the mystic vine of fertility, filled with water, is in the store-house of the upper world. For the Babylonians, of course, the store-house was in the lower world, in the *bît apsi*.

Why is the store-house placed under the supervision of Nannar, the moon-god? The question is not so difficult to answer as it may appear at first sight. The conception that the moon is so intimately connected with the fertilizing waters that it might even be regarded as their source, was widely prevalent in the ancient world,<sup>13</sup> and is, in fact, one of the most universal tenets of mythology, however much obscured. It takes root in a number of very obvious circumstances, such as the heavy condensation of dew on moonlight nights, a matter of real importance to pastoral peoples; Herse was the daughter of Zeus by Selene. From time immemorial the tides have been associated with the action of the moon by maritime peoples; the tides in the Persian Gulf are mentioned in the *Bûdahîšn*. More arbitrary, but even more decisive was the belief that the lunar crescent was a bowl or basin containing the rains. When it tipped, the rains were fancied to be heavier; when it was level, it was a 'dry moon,' as is still the case today. Hence the rains which happened to fall during the time of new-moon were connected with it, and the new-moon was considered to be the rain-bringer (see below), a deduction quite as logical as the surviving superstition of the equinoctial storms.

In Indo-Iranian mythology the moon, Sôma-Haoma, and the waters were almost inseparably bound together. The remarkable development of the sôma theory has completely overshadowed the more primitive directness of association, but the latter still shimmers through in its original simplicity, thinly veiled by the metaphorical cloak. Out of the numerous illustrations given by Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, pp. 355-385, we may mention *Aitarêya-Brâhmana*, 8. 28. 15, 'from the moon comes rain'; *Rig-vêda* 1. 105. 1, 'in the waters is the moon'; the name Apâm-napât, 'son of the water,' primarily the name of a vegetation spirit, but later applied to the moon or Sôma. The Iranian goddess of water, Ardvîsûra Anâhita, was probably lunar on her celestial side, just as Mithra was the sun. It is noteworthy that

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Lydus, *De Mensibus*, 4. 21: ἀλλὰ καὶ Σελήνην αὐτὴν θεολογοῦσιν, οἷα ἐπὶ τῆς ὑγρᾶς οὐσίας τεταγμένην.

not only the great water source but also the lesser springs<sup>14</sup> were associated by the Persians with the moon, a fact that attracted the attention of the great geographer, Yâqût, who gives a list of place-names containing the element ماء 'moon' (IV, 406), explaining it as follows (407, 4 ff.): تقدير الاسماء ان ماء الذى

هو اسم القمر انما يقحموه على اسم كل بلد ذى خصب لان القمر i. e., the element *mâh* is prefixed to the names of fertile places because the moon exerts an influence over the dews and waters from which fertility is derived. The American Indians similarly regard the moon as a water-giver, identifying her with the goddess of water. The Sioux are said to imagine the moon to be a woman carrying a bucket of water (see the citations in Roscher, art. 'Men,' 2. 2765).

As might be expected, therefore, the Egyptians referred the inundations of the Nile to lunar influence. To be sure, the Egyptian moon had to share honors with Sirius, etc., just as the Iranians turned in the Avestan system to Tištrya. Frazer, however, *Adonis, Attis, and Osiris*,<sup>3</sup> 2. 129 ff., is entirely wrong in maintaining that the relation between the moon, Osiris, and the Nile is late and philosophical. On the contrary, the philosophical theories are merely introduced to place the ineradicable belief in lunar influence on a scientific basis. The fancy that the Nile-bull Apis was begotten by the moon (see below) can hardly be called late and philosophical. When Plutarch, *De Isid. et Osir.* 43, says, οὐνοῦ δὲ πρὸς τὰ φῶτα τῆς σελήνης ἔχειν τινὰ λόγον τοῦ Νείλου τὰς ἀναβάσεις, he is reflecting a native view going back into primitive times; cf. also Chassinat, *RT* 38. 43 f., and 47.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Their fluctuation in flow was associated with the lunar phases, a conception which survived in the philosophical fancy that the sun derived its refulgence from the sea, while the moon's softer light reflected the placidity of springs and ponds; cf. Plutarch, *De Isid. et Osir.* 41: Οἱ δὲ Στωκοὶ τὸν μὲν ἥλιον ἐκ θαλάττης ἀνάπτειν καὶ τρέφεσθαι φασί, τῇ δὲ σελήνῃ τὰ κρηναῖα καὶ λιμναῖα νάματα γλυκεῖαν ἀναπέμπειν καὶ μαλακὴν ἀναθυμῖασιν.

<sup>15</sup> I hope to show elsewhere that Osiris was fundamentally a lunar divinity, a conception still found in classical times, though very much obscured. The Egyptian celebration of Osiris' entrance into the moon cannot be tossed aside lightly as 'a late philosophical theory,' according to Frazer's superficial method of dealing with annoying facts. To his vast learning and phenomenal industry we owe very much indeed, but no one man can solve the infinity of problems which arise in our science, as Sir James seems to

So it is also in Mesopotamia. In the interesting hymn to the moon, *CT* 15. 17. 16b, the poet exclaims, *a-a* <sup>d</sup>*Nannar mà-dim a-gê-a dirig-ga-zu-dè—kug*<sup>16</sup>*-gi* <sup>id</sup>*Buranunu a im-si* <sup>d</sup>*Nannar* <sup>id</sup>*Pà-bil-luḡ-e a im-si* <sup>d</sup>*Nannar bunin-maḡ bunin-banda a im-si* <sup>d</sup>*Nannar* = 'Father Nannar, when like a ship upon the flood thou dost float \* \* \* the pure river Euphrates fills with water, O Nannar, the canal Pabilluḡ, the large ponds, the small ponds, etc.' The inference here is unmistakable; in other cases we must remember that the Sin of Ur is one of the best illustrations of the syncretism by which a god standing at the head of a local pantheon was enriched with the functions and attributes of other deities. On a cylinder figured in Ward, no. 652, the lunar goddess A'a, identified by the accompanying name, holds the spouting vase from which the rivers flow (see my above-mentioned article), while the crescent moon floats overhead.

The foregoing material could easily be swollen; there is no lack of data bearing on the subject. The illustrations given are, however, surely sufficient to establish the reasonableness of my interpretation, as well as to pave the way for a plausible explanation of the next crux in our poem.

### III

It is hardly likely that there is an organic connection between col. III, 1-8 = 21-28 and the following episode, which Langdon has made the pivot of his deluge hypothesis. On the other hand, 1-8 fits in very well with 39 ff. The alternation may be explained as an artistic tendency of the same nature as the complicated counterpoint and interplay of motives found in modern music; the poem was designed for antiphonal chanting in the liturgy. We may, therefor, distinguish two main divisions in our epic, dovetailed together in the middle, but without any real community of motive. The first part, including the first two columns, and lines 9-20 = 29-38 of the third is devoted to the genesis of fertility and the origin of the inundation; the second part, comprising the remainder of the text, is devoted to the introduction of culture by the hero Šummu (see below), and the consequent Fall of man, to be discussed in the next section of our study.

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imagine. Osiris is Tammuz, but Osiris was not Tammuz originally—nor was he a deified king. The real Egyptian Tammuz was the shepherd (*bt*) Bitis (along with others, unknown to us); Osiris is a usurper.

<sup>16</sup> For reading *ku(g)* instead of *azag* see Luckenbill, *AJSL* 33. 187.

The passage in which we are now interested, *ll.* 9 ff., holds the same position relative to the account of the inundation as does the sexual union in the preceding column, and is hence likely to stand in a somewhat similar causal relation to the inundation. We may read it as follows:

9. *lugal-mu ní-dirig-ga-ri ní-dirig-ga-ri*  
*gír-ni áš-a <sup>is</sup>mà-a ne-in-gub*  
*min-gu-ma šuššana im<sup>17</sup>-ma nam-mi-in-gin*
12. *gab im-ma-an-tab gibil im-ma-an-su-ub*  
*<sup>d</sup>En-ki-gè a-šàg-ga ba-ni-in-ri*  
*a-šàg-ga šú-ba-ni-in-ti a <sup>d</sup>En-ki-ga-ka =*
9. 'My king, invested with surpassing majesty,  
 His foot first in the bark set;  
 Then he caused it to move, sinking one-third (of its  
 depth);
12. He caused the prow to gleam forth, anew he caused it to  
 shine.  
 By Enki the fields were inundated;  
 The fields received the waters of Enki.'

Of the renderings hitherto proposed for line 9, only the latest of Langdon's can be accepted (cf. *AJSL* 33. 125); *ní-dirig-ga-ri* would be in Assy. *puluḫta atarta ramû*, like *ní-su-zi—ri* (*CT* 16. 42. 12) = *puluḫti šalummata ramû*.

Thanks to the improved readings of Jastrow, Chiera, and Barton, some sense can be made out of line 11. *Min-gu-ma* is to be taken as the equivalent of *min-kam-ma*; indeed, Jastrow (*ibid.* p. 126) states that the reading *kam-ma* is possible. Langdon, *SLT* no. 21, col. II, 9 (cf. also col. I, 4) offers *min-gu-ma*, used apparently like *min-kam-ma*, 'in the second place, next, further' (Sem. *šanîta<sup>m</sup>*), found, e. g., Poebel, *HGT* no. 20, rev. 14; no. 15, obv. 3; *SLT* no. 5, obv. 3; Gudea, Cyl. A, VIII, 2; IX, 5, etc.; V, 2, and VI, 3 are doubtful, as the *min-kam-(ma)* may refer to the second god. *Aš-a* evidently corresponds to *áš-ám*, 'firstly,' and does not mean either 'alone,' or 'at once,' as suggested by the other expositors. It may be that *min-gu-ma* was read *mun-*

<sup>17</sup> Sign *KAS* = *gigri*, 'sink, be submerged, inundate'; for the reading *im* see *CT* 24 18. 17, *CT* 18. 32. 30. The Semitic equivalent *šanû* (*HW* 675 b), 'to inundate,' etc., is Ar. سبأ, 'irrigate,' and has no connection with *šalû*, the Ar. شال, as shown by Haupt, *AJSL* 33. 48.

*guma*, as the word 'two' in Sumerian was either *min*, *man*, or *mun* ('seven' = 'two and five' is *i-min* or *u-mun*).

Chiera and Jastrow read *šanabi*, 'two-thirds,' instead of *šuššana*, which is the correct reading, according to Barton (*loc. cit.* p. 584, n. 2); see *AJSL* 33. 126. A passenger vessel might sink one-third where a freighter would sink two-thirds, as is expressly stated in the Deluge-poem. Barton's explanation of *šuššana* as the god *Šamaš* is evidently a *dernier ressort*, while a rendering 'two streams' for the preceding group is pure conjecture. I see no reason for a mythological interpretation of the line.

On the other hand, the next line seems to require an astral exegesis; the present translations are in every respect unsatisfactory, owing to the persistent effort to justify the rendering 'fire,' or the like, for *GIBIL*. Sum. *gab*, 'breast, front,' is used for 'prow,' like Eg. *ḥ'ti*, 'breast, front' (cf. also *ḥ'tit*, the cable attached to the prow, *Shipwrecked Sailor*, l. 4); not the words for *elippu māhirtu* (سفينة ماحضة), *ḡis-mā-gab-šub-gú*, 'the ship cleaving with its prow' (*CT* 18. 34. 33c, *šub-gú* = *naqāru ša abni*, 'to cleave, said of stone') and *ḡis-mā-gab-ri-a-ni*, 'the ship which encounters (the current; cf. *gab-ri*, *gab-ri-a-ni*, 'opposition').<sup>18</sup> *Tab* is commonly employed of the shining forth of the new-moon (*ḥamātu ša azqari*); cf., e. g., Kugler, *Sternkunde*, l. 278. *Sub* is similarly used of the shining forth of the stars (cf. Langdon, *AJSL* 33. 48 f.); *sub-sub* (Br. 206, etc.) is the regular expression for the completion of the horns of the lunar crescent; for the various writings of the word *sub*, *šub*, 'shine, be bright,' see *SGL* 269. *Gibil* may be used pregnantly for *ud-sar-gibil*, 'new-moon,' like the Greek *ἡ νέα*, but, with our present knowledge, it is more systematic to render it as we have. The construction of *gibil* is the same as in Gudea, Statue B, III, 12, etc., where *gibil im-ma-ta-lál* corresponds to an Assyrian *ana eššūti iḡbat* (contrast *VB* 1); Gudea purified the city and reconsecrated it. In both cases *gibil* is an adjective agreeing with the object of the verb; hence the *bi* is omitted. The pure adverb, *gibil-bi*, is found, for instance, in Cyl. A, XIX, 22, *lù-tur gibil-bi ê-dū-dim* = 'like a young man who newly (i. e., for the first time) builds a house.' The expression *gab—tab* occurs *SLT* no. 14, rev. 2, *e(KA<sup>19</sup>)-gar* (omitted in Langdon's copy) *-šag-ga gab-na*

<sup>18</sup> See K4378 (*AL*<sup>3</sup> 86 ff.), col. VI, 11 ff.

<sup>19</sup> *KA-GAR* = *egirra* (*SGL* 81) is evidently to be read *egar* (cf. *Esir* = *KA-DI*, *SLT* 177, n. 5; *e* = *enim*, 'word') > *egirra*, which cannot be com-

*im-mi-tab* (intrans.—note absence of *n*, which Poebel has shown in his *Grammatical Texts* to be a transitive-causative particle), 'propitious thoughts shone in her(?) breast'; cf. *banû egirrû'a*, 'my thoughts were bright' (i. e., cheerful—*HW* 18a), for which we might say 'Merry thoughts danced (or sparkled) in my mind.' *Tab* can hardly be rendered 'multiply' (*daġ*) with Langdon. In a tantalizing fragment published by Langdon, *Liturgies*, no. 52, we read (2 ff.) [ ] *igi im-ma-an* [ ] *šû mu-un-ni-in* [ ] *gab im-ma-an* [ ] *igi im-ma-an* [*sum?* - - -]. Since this bit of tablet also contains the verb *da-lal*, so important for the elucidation of our text (see below), scholars should be on the lookout for additional fragments.

The passage thus describes the appearance of the new-moon at the season of inundation, the significance of which has been already pointed out. It is no objection that Enki is represented as riding in Nannar's boat; the spheres of the gods constantly overlap; Hommel believes that there is a special connection between Enki and Enzu, but his reasons, as set forth by Förtsch (*MVAG* 19. 45), are not particularly happy. There can be no doubt that Langdon is correct in maintaining that the syncretism of the last Sumerian period culminated in a strong philosophical movement toward pantheism, which received a powerful setback in the dark ages following the downfall of the first dynasty. Thus, in our text, Ninella, Nintu, Ninsar, Ninkurra, and Ninġarsag are tacitly identified; even Enki and Enlil are not clearly separated. Babbar is merely the sun, playing no independent rôle (see above)—the same seems to be true of the moon, which becomes Enki's celestial bark. For his subterranean voyages the god may have had another vessel. The waters of Enki are derived from Nannar's reservoir without inconsistency, because Nannar is only a form of Enki, after all. In fairness to the writers of our text, we should not impute to them such gross inconsequences as are found, for example, in such variegated collections as the Book of the Dead. It is quite unnecessary to draw for an explanation on astrology, where (IIIR. 55. 3, l. 4) the moon is placed under the jurisdiction of Ea during the second *hamuštu* of the month, when it is shaped like a kidney.

The best commentary on our passage is provided by an episode in the inscriptions of Gudea. Gudea prays to Ningirsu that his mother, the goddess Ninâ, may come to interpret his dream.

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binéd with *itguru*, 'plan,' from *egêru*, 'bind' (cf. Langdon, *AJSL* 34. 207), like *kapâdu*, primarily also 'to bind.'

Upon the intercession (implied) of the god, she immediately sets out (Cyl. A, col. II, 4-6) :

*mā-gur(TEgunu)-ra-na gīr-nam<sup>20</sup>-mī-gub*  
*uru-ni Ninā-sū<sup>21</sup> Ninā-du-a mā mu-ni-ri*  
*īd gībīl-gūl-lā-e kūr-tur ni-sī-il-e =*

‘In her lunar bark<sup>21</sup> she set foot;

To her city Ninā, on the river flowing to Ninā, the ship departed,

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<sup>20</sup> The definite principle should be established that *nam* is positive (corresponding to Assyr. emphatic *lū*) except where used as a prohibitive like *bara* (cf. Assyr. *d* with perfect as precative, and *lā* with present as pure prohibitive); the apparent exceptions rest upon misinterpretation, either by Akkadian or modern scholars. Cf. *SG* §§ 92, 100, 160, 176; Witzel, *BA* 8. 5. 102 f., *OLZ* 18. 362, n. 1 (observe, however, that the two can usually be readily distinguished). The pivot of the discussion has been the beginning of Cyl. A of Gudea, studied recently by Witzel (*loc. cit.*), who reached the conclusion that *nam* here is positive (the prohibitive force is excluded), and Kmosko, *ZA* 29. 159 f. (K.’s view that Gudea A, VIII, 1-14 describes a royal incubation seems to me most happy; the corrections of Witzel, *ZA* 30. 101 ff. are in general valid, but his attitude is markedly captious), who returns to the old viewpoint, maintaining that the water of the Tigris is so brackish that it cannot be described as *a-dūg-ga*. However, the lower course of the river is not nearly so brackish as the upper part, and during an inundation becomes quite sweet. An army medical officer during the recent campaign complained that the water ‘is not a very healthy drink at the best of times,’ but he was referring to the rich mud held in solution, on account of which the Sumerians called it the *ĝé-ma-al-la-diri*, ‘abounding in fertility’ (Reisner, *SBH* no. 48, 24-5), and the Akkadians termed it the *bābīlat begalli*. This is the force of *a-dūg-ga*; Witzel’s rendering ‘Wassererguss’ is impossible, because *dūg* = *rihū* refers only to sexual intercourse. In fact this is a characteristic sample of his latest defense of his view, *OLZ* 18. 361-7. Aside from the misconception of the force of *nam*, Thureau-Dangin’s translation is still the best. W.’s explanation of *me* = *parcu* is little short of fanciful; *uru-me-a* is surely to be translated with Delitzsch, *SG* 41, ‘in our city.’ L. 9, *ša-dEn-lil-lā-gè idIdigna-ām a-dūg-ga nam-tum* is to be rendered, ‘The flood of Enlil in the Tigris (*SG* 63c) brought down sweet water (see above).’ Lines 10 ff., *é-e lugal-bi gū-ba-dé é-ninnu me-bi an-ki-a pa-é-mu-ag-gè pa-te-si lū-geštug-dagal-kam geštug ni-gá-gá* = ‘To proclaim (the glory of) the temple and king, and to make the Eninnu and the (divine) decrees renowned in heaven and earth, the *patesi*, a man endowed with profound wisdom, applied his attention.’ As shown by the very first lines, the building of the temple is (theoretically) a mark of gratitude for the favor of the gods, not a propitiatory offering for their anger.

<sup>21</sup> The *mā-gur* is, primarily at least, specifically lunar, as I hope to show elsewhere, for reasons not dependent on the constant association of the *makurru* with Sin.

The river, in newness of joy, morning and evening being propitious.'

In the meantime Gudea goes to Ningirsu again, and also to Gatumdug, praying that the goddess may be propitious. In col. IV, 3-4 we learn that Ninâ has reached her city, whereupon Gudea presents himself before her for the interpretation of his vision :

*mâ-gur-ra-na gîr-nam-mi-gub*  
*uru-ni Ninâ-šû kar-Ninâ-gè mâ ne-uš =*

'In her lunar bark she set foot;

To her city Ninâ, at the quay of Ninâ, the ship arrived.'

Of course, the *deus ex machina* is not merely a poetic or ecclesiastical fiction; the image of the goddess was probably placed in her cult-bark, and taken in procession with appropriate ceremonials, unknown to us. From col. X, 17-18, we may gain an idea of the importance of the neomeny festival, which may play a rôle here. It is very likely that Gudea began to build the temple at the new-moon preceding the inundation; cf. col. XI, 4-24: *ê-ninnu ê-nam-lugal-mu sîb-zid Gû-dé-a ud šû-zid ma-ši-tum-da an-šû im a-e gû-ba-dé - - - e-pâ gû-bi ma-ra-ab-zi-zi - - - ê-im-mer-e ġar-sag-ki-el-ta im si-ma-ra-ab-sâ-e kalam-e zi-šâg-gâl ù-ma-sum* = "On the day that the faithful shepherd Gudea puts a steadfast hand to the (building of the) Eninnu, my royal house, in heaven a wind will announce (the coming of) water \* \* \* the irrigating ditches and canals will be flooded for thee \* \* \* from the house of the storm in the pure mountains I will send thee a wind, and will give the land life." If further cuneiform parallels are demanded, I will refer the sceptic to the text CT 15. 17, already cited.

#### IV

From rev. II (see below) it seems that the mother-goddess demanded or expected some reward for her complaisance and her submission to the trials of maternity. I am inclined to see in the episode obv. III, 1-8 = 21-28, to which 39 ff. may be added (see above), the reflexion of a version different from the account in rev. III. Owing to the lacunae in our text, it is quite impossible to determine to what extent the two were harmonized. It is at least unsafe to interpret the one without the other.

The situation in which we find ourselves at the beginning of obv. III is not particularly clear. The goddess, after bearing



life, is found on the bank of the river where Enki first came to her. Then—

*<sup>d</sup>Nin-sar gú-id-da-ga-šù mi-ni-ib-bi*

*<sup>d</sup>En-ki-gè má<sup>22</sup>-ra im-da-lál e-ne im-da-lál e-ne*

*sukkal-a-ni <sup>d</sup>Isimu NE<sup>23</sup> gù-mu-na-dé-e*

*lù-dû šag-ga e-ne nu-mu-un su-ub-bi, etc. =*

‘Ninsar called him to the bank of the river.’<sup>24</sup>

‘By Enki he was granted<sup>25</sup> to me.’

His vizier Isimu—addressed her:

‘‘The son of man, excellent is he, a pure offspring.’’

It is not necessary to take up space here with the antiphonal (?) repetitions. The goddess evidently has been piqued by the failure of her consort to fulfill his promises, and in the master’s absence turns to the man, who may have been considered the former’s spokesman, just as Hermes was the mouthpiece of Zeus. Isimu seems to hesitate at the idea of delivering the pure ‘son of man’ into the fickle hands of the goddess, notorious, as we learn in the sixth tablet of the Gilgames-epic, for the ruin of all her lovers. From 39 ff. it becomes reasonably certain that by the ‘son of man’ *TAG-KU* is meant. The appellative *lù-dû* is probably to be explained like the epithet applied to Adapa, a figure in some respects very much like *TAG-KU*, *zêr amêlûti*, ‘offspring of mankind,’ i. e. ‘mortal.’ It is very probable that the expression developed, on account of its sententious quality, a certain mystical value when applied to hero-saviors of the Tammuz type, in view of the fact that it clearly has this force in the Jewish apocalypses, but it is not safe to assume it for the Sumerian period.

Both Barton<sup>26</sup> and Langdon<sup>27</sup> have independently reached the

<sup>22</sup> Chiera wishes to read *ZUK* (*ambar*; M 7844, *ambar* = *appa[ru]*, and in the Yale Syl. 49, [*a*]*mbar* = *apparu*), ‘marsh,’ but after a prolonged wrestle I gave it up as impossible; cf. Jastrow, *op. cit.* p. 122.

<sup>23</sup> Prince renders ‘thus,’ which is quite reasonable, though not certain; *ne-e* means ‘this.’

<sup>24</sup> Or, ‘Ninsar spoke on the bank of the river.’

<sup>25</sup> *Da-lál* is probably to be explained as ‘bind upon, charge with, bestow upon, grant.’ *CT* 17. 38. 22, *a-na ib-ba-ag-a-en ma-e ba-da-lál-e* may be rendered, ‘What thou doest, it shall be incumbent upon me.’ As Delitzsch points out (*SGL* 168), the Semitic *îlâši kullimši* is erroneous, but ‘darauf achte ich’ is not much better. In the Poebel Deluge tablet, col. VI, *da-da-lál* seems to mean ‘reconcile’ (from *conciliare*, ‘bring together, unite’).

<sup>26</sup> *AJTh* 21. 595 f.

<sup>27</sup> *ET* 29. 221 (Feb., 1918).

conclusion that *TAG-KU* is a Tammuz, a result which seems to me unavoidable. Since *Tagtug* is out of the question, and *Takku* is hardly more satisfactory, *Šum-mu* may be suggested as a tentative reading. *Šum* = *ṭabāḫū* is the regular word used for the sacrifice of the god Lamga (a common name of Tammuz<sup>28</sup>), from whose blood men were created; cf. *SEP* 23 ff., especially 26, 1. 22, and Ebeling no. 4, obv. 25 f., *ḏLamga ḏLamga im-ma-an-šum-en-ze-en múd-múd-e-ne nam-lù-gàl-lu mí-mú-e-ne* = 'The Lamga gods (!) shall ye slay—with their blood create mankind' (Akkadian inexact, *Lamga Lamga i-niṭbuḫa ina dāmēšunu i-nibnā amē-lūta*). It is true that *KU* = *mu* in the special meaning *ṣubātu*, 'garment,' and, so far as I know, is not used elsewhere as phonetic complement. However, since both *mu* = *ṣubātu* and *mu* (*KA* + *ZID*) = *ṭēnu*, 'grind,' interchange with the ordinary sign *mu* (*SGL* 188), we may be permitted to see in the writing an allusion to the grinding of the god in a mill as Ašnan (cf. Barton, *loc. cit.*), which became the orthodox fate of Tammuz in the Hurrarian system. Šummu would then be, κατ' ἐξοχὴν, the god who 'died that man might live' in the late Sumerian theological system. At present, however, the reading Šummu is only another possibility.

Despite the scruples of Enki and his vizier, Isimu, in 39 ff. we find *TAG-KU* appearing before the goddess:

*ḏTAG-KU sal-ni-dim in [ ]*  
*ḏNin-tu-ri ḏTAG-KU- ra gù-mu-na-dé-[e]*  
*na-ga-e-ri na-ri-mu [ ]*  
*enim ga-ra-ab-dug enim<sup>29</sup>-mu [ ]*  
*lù-diš-ám má-ra im-da-lál*  
*ḏEn-ki-gè má-ra im-da-lál =*  
 'Šummu (?) paid obeisance<sup>30</sup> [ ]

<sup>28</sup> *ḏLamga umun sa-bár*, 'Lamga lord of the net,' a common title of Tammuz. As the name means 'artisan, carpenter' (<*naggar*<Sem. *naggarum* = Eg. *ngr*), one thinks of *ḏDamu lù sa-kuḏ-da keš-da-gè*, 'Tammuz who binds together broken ligaments' (as god of healing), which reminds one that in the Pyr. Texts *ḏḫwti* (Thoth) is the *ngr* who puts the bones of the dead king together again. Another moon-god, Sin, is the *lamga-gal-an-na-gè*, 'the great carpenter of heaven.' Here are a number of puzzling associations to be elucidated.

<sup>29</sup> Langdon (*SEP*) and Prince read *KA* once too often.

<sup>30</sup> The verb *sal-dim* may be explained on the basis of *dim*(*PAP* + *PAP*) = *sanāqu*, 'fasten, bind, subjugate' (*nu-dim-ma* = *lā sangūti*, 'intractable'); *sal-dim* would mean 'be tractable as a woman, pay homage'; cf. *sal-dug*, 'be kind to,' and *sal-gá-gá*, 'chatter.'

Nin-tu addressed Šummu (?):

“I will purify thee; my purification [ ]  
Somewhat I will say to thee; my words [ ]  
One man has been granted to me;  
By Enki he was granted to me.”

In rev. I<sup>31</sup> *TAG-KU* appears as the intermediary between men and the gods, buying edible plants for a price (*šám-šù*)—it is not stated what the price was, though we may suspect it to have been his own life. At all events we hear nothing further about his fortunes.

Rev. II, 15 we come upon the goddess complaining again about deferred promises, this time because certain plants seem to be withheld from her. Isimu replies:

*ú ma-e nam-bi li-ne-kud-da*<sup>32</sup> =

“As for the plants, I have determined their destiny.”

At this information Ningarsag (as the goddess is now called) exclaims in surprise:

*a-na-ám ne-e a-na-ám ne-e* =

“What’s this, what’s this?”

The vizier now gives the list of the plants in detail, making it perfectly clear that they are set aside for the usufruct of man, The disappointed goddess vents her wrath on the innocent cause of her chagrin, man, presumably not daring to curse Enki, her lord:

*ḏNin-ġar-sag-gá-gè mu ḏEn-ki nam-erim ba-an-kud* =

‘By Ningarsag, on account of<sup>33</sup> Enki, a curse was uttered.’

The import of the curse has been the subject of much discussion; we may best render, ‘The fulness (lit. face) of life until he (finally) dies let him not see.’ The meaning is evidently that

<sup>31</sup> For the best treatment cf. Jastrow, *op. cit.* p. 131 f.

<sup>32</sup> So Jastrow and Chiera: *TAR-da*. If this is correct, *li-kud* must be a synonym of *li-tar*, since both *tar* and *kud* share the meanings *parāsu*, etc. *Li-tar* has three principal meanings: *arkatam parāsu*, a literal rendering of *li-li-tar*, ‘to determine what is behind a thing, investigate (in legal parlance)’; *paqādu*, inspect, take care of; *ša’ālu*, ‘consult, decide.’ There is no *li*, ‘to ask’ (*SGL* 170); *en-me-li* is ‘the priest who declares mysteries.’

<sup>33</sup> For *mu* = *aššum* cf. *SG*. 81. For the expression, cf., e. g., *CT* 15. 4. 12: *šarrum šūt abbēšu liplaḫka*, ‘May the king revere thee on account of his fathers.’ The translation ‘in the name of’ is also possible, but is difficult to explain.

man is to be subject thereafter to the inroads of disease and senescence, to which he will eventually succumb. Other translations and interpretations do justice neither to the style nor to the exigencies of grammar. If our exegesis is correct, the Sumerian Fall was brought about by the pique of the mother-goddess, and was in no sense the fault of man. With Jastrow's remarks on p. 137 of his above-cited article I am heartily in accord.

Failing, however, to be appeased by her act of spite, Ningarsag threw herself on the ground and sulked, renewing her plaint that she had received no reward for her child-bearing, whereupon Enlil (now introduced as her traditional spouse) consoled her with the words:

za-e <sup>d</sup>Nin-ġar-sag-ġá mu-e-du-mu-un-nam  
uru-má-a ġiš-má<sup>34</sup> ġa-ri-dú mu-zu ġé-pád-di =

‘Thou Ningarsag hast borne me children;  
In my city a creature I will make for thee, to be called  
by thy name.’

Enlil then proceeds to create this being in the city of their joint cult, and dedicates him to the service of the mother-goddess (*mu-pá* often means ‘dedicate’):

ġuš(?) -a sag-ni diš-ám im-ma-an-peš-peš<sup>35</sup>  
šà<sup>36</sup>-ni diš-ám im-ma-an-búr-búr  
igi-ni diš-ám izi-ne-in-ġar =

‘Splendidly (?) his head as one unique he made broad;  
His heart as one unique he expanded;  
His eyes as one unique he enlightened.’

This unique being, devoted to the service of the mother-goddess, is clearly a cinaedus; to me this seems the only possible conclusion. Every year the predominant rôle of the eunuch priest, *UR-SAL* (i. e. harem-attendant) = *assinnu*, *kúr-ġar-ra* = *kur-ġarû*, and *kulû* (a Semitic word derived from *kalû*, ‘prevent,’ perhaps as one excluded from sexual intercourse; cf. *nu-ġig*, ‘harlot,’ prop. ‘not inaccessible’), in Babylonian religion becomes plainer. There can be little doubt that the *kurġarê* and their

<sup>34</sup> Langdon's explanation of *ġiš-má* by *šiknatu* (i. e. *šiknu* or *šikittu*; there is no sing. *šiknatu*), ‘creature,’ is surely correct.

<sup>35</sup> For *peš* (*ŠU* + *KAD*) = *rapāšu*, *napāšu*, *paġādu* (فصد), ‘widen out, open up,’ see *SGI* 74 f.

<sup>36</sup> Perhaps instead of *šà* (Barton) we may read *PI* = *ġeštu*, ‘ear, referring *búr* to *bur(U)* = *rapša uzni*, etc., ‘of keen intelligence.’

ilk were as common in Erech as in Cappadocian Comana in later times. Our episode is therefore an aetiological myth explaining the origin of the guild of Galli, to be compared in some respects to Lucian's famous story of Combabus in his treatise *De Syria dea*, now admitted to be a genuine production of his youth.

Our results are corroborated, I believe, by another aetiological myth explaining the origin of the cinaedi, in the *Descent of Ištar*. The goddess of fecundity goes down to Hades to bring back the dead lord of vegetation, Tammuz, but is imprisoned in the underworld by Ereškigal. Things come to such a desperate pass on earth, production ceasing and social ties being dissolved, that Ea (Enki) creates a cinaedus, Aġûšunamer (called Aġnamer in the Ebeling recension), and sends him down to Hades with the injunction (*CT* 15. 46, rev. 13 ff.): "Go, Aġûšunamer, direct thyself to the gate of the Land of No-return; may the seven gates of Hades be opened before thee. Let Ereškigal see thee and rejoice at thy coming.<sup>37</sup> Conjure her by the great gods; lift thy head and look at the *ħalziqqu*<sup>38</sup> skin (saying), 'My lady, let them give me the *ħalziqqu* skin that I may drink therefrom.' " The mission was duly executed, but Ereškigal, who understood perfectly that the water of life was destined for Ištar, became very angry, and cursed the eunuch:

*alka Aġûšunamer luzîrka izra rabâ*  
*akalê epinnê âli lû-akalka*  
*ħabanât âli lû-maltitka*  
*ġilli dûri lû-manzazuka*  
*askuppatu lû-mûšabûka*  
*šakru u zamû limħaġû lîtka.*

The Aššur recension runs somewhat differently:

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<sup>37</sup> The reason for Ereškigal's rejoicing, delicately alluded to rev. 16, 'After her desire has been appeased, and her heart has become merry,' is given more bluntly by Lucian, *De dea Syria* 22: γυναῖκες Γάλλων ἐπιθυμέουσι, καὶ γυναῖξί Γάλλοι ἐπιμαίνονται, ζηλοτυπεί δὲ οὐδεὶς, ἀλλὰ σφισι τὸ χρῆμα κάρτα ἰρὸν νομίζεται.

<sup>38</sup> *Ĥalziqqu* may represent a Sumerian expression \**gal-zi-gè*, 'allotment (*gal* = *zittu*, *zāzu*, *piristu*) of life.' The Babylonian skin-bottle might have corresponded originally to the waters of life in the underworld (the *apsû*), imagined as confined in a water-skin; cf. Ps. 33. 7 (emended text). This explanation is doubtful, but it is at any rate better than the philological somersault indulged in *AJSL* 34. 28 (for *ħallu* cf. *JAOS* 36. 231, on line 173).

*alka<sup>m</sup> Aḡnamer šimti lâ mašê lušimka*  
*lušimka-ma šimti lâ mašê ana ġāti*  
*epît (for\* epint) âli lû-kurummatka*  
*[h]abanât ali lû-maltītka*  
*[ġil]lu dûri lû-ma(z)zazuka*  
*aksup(p)atu lû-mûšabaka.*

Of the two, the Ninevite is distinctly the better, not only in orthography, but also in adhering more closely to the Babylonian prototype. We may render it:

“I will curse thee with a great curse.  
 The water-works of the city shall be thy food;  
 The garbage-pots<sup>39</sup> of the city shall be thy drink;  
 The shadow of the wall shall be thy resting-place;  
 The threshold shall be thy abode;  
 The drunkard and the outcast<sup>40</sup> shall smite thy cheek.”

This curse obviously alludes to the wretched lot of an old בָּלֵךְ, no longer able to ply his trade of lust, dragging his debauched body around, despised by all and befriended by none. His food and drink come from the garbage pail and the irrigating ditch; he is too poor to patronize the water-seller. During the day he crouches in the shade of some wall; at night he curls up in some doorway. Surely he is the most despicable of mortals: ‘Parcius quatiunt iuvenes fenestras.’

The comparison of the two recensions of our passage is most instructive. The number of lines is the same, but the editors of the Aššur text have suppressed the last line, being too picturesque and vivid, and have replaced it with a platitude, “I will give thee a destiny never to be forgotten.” Observing that the tendency of revision in our text is toward obscurity, we will further note that the second and the third lines have been mixed—with evident intention, as both recensions agree. At present the curse is too much like the trick conditions cited by

<sup>39</sup> *Habattu* and *hubunnu*, ‘pot,’ belong with خَبِئ, ‘hide something in one’s garment,’ an extended form of حَبَأَ ‘hide’ = *habû*, ‘store away’ (cf. قَسَا, قَسَن, etc.), whence *habitu*, ‘amphora’ (Haupt, *OLZ* 18. 296 f.); cf. Ar. *hubna*, ‘food hidden in the folds of a garment.’

<sup>40</sup> From *zamû*, ‘exclude, prohibit’; for the force cf. حَرَم and נָהַר.

Bloomfield, *JAOS* 36. 65 ff.; in accord with the concreteness of the last line, the primary reading of these two must have been:

“The garbage-pots of the city shall be thy food;  
The water-works of the city shall be thy drink.”

The original writer had a very low opinion of the cinaedi, and did not hesitate to express it rather bluntly. His successors, however, objected to the impious attack on the holy priests of Istar, or perhaps feared that it might be misunderstood by the godless, so introduced a few changes, which have succeeded admirably in mystifying scholars, who have generally regarded Aġûšunamer as a ghost like the unburied shades of GE XII, col. VI, 11 f., whose food is *šûkulat diqari kusipat akali ša inû sûqi nadâ*, ‘food (left) in pots, pieces of bread lying in the street.’

Figulla has tried to analyze the sources of the *Descent of Istar* (*OLZ* 15. 433-441). While he has made some useful and interesting suggestions, his method does not commend itself, and the results cannot be maintained after the discovery of the Sumerian original (Poebel, *Historical Texts*, no. 23); Papsukal and Belili are Sumerian, not Elamite. He is unquestionably right in associating Aġûšunamer with Tammuz, but the former is not a parallel to the latter, but a pale reflex, serving the purposes of the myth in an entirely different capacity. Figulla’s view that Tammuz went down to Hades to rescue Istar is reversing the order of events. It is undeniably true that the early Sumerians, and even the Semites, conceived the deity of vegetation as a being of rather indefinite sex, often androgynous, like the vegetation which he represented, and shifting gender at will, but under the hands of the priests the myths regarding him were molded in more definite lines. Both Tammuz and Istar, as vegetation-gods, spend part of the year in the underworld, but the theologians afterwards marked out their respective territories, making Istar the patron of plant-life and fecundity in general, and referring her visit to the underworld to her love for the dead favorite. At the same time, the more primitive conception, according to which Istar herself is imprisoned in the underworld, is retained.

The clue to the origin of the Aġûšunamer myth is found in the name, ‘His rising is brilliant,’ which cannot be separated from Namraġit and Ćisunamrat, names of the crescent moon (*azqaru*) with the same meaning.<sup>41</sup> What connection can there

<sup>41</sup> The Sumerian equivalent of *azqaru* and *Namraġit* is either *ud-sar(-gibil)*, which Delitzsch (*SGL* 234) explains like *pa-é*, ‘glänzend in die Erscheinung

possibly be between the moon and a mythical eunuch-priest? The answer is furnished by Egyptian mythology, where the moon as *k'n pt*, 'bull of heaven,' is, according to the hieroglyphs, 'bull in rut' during the first half of the month, and 'castrated bull' during the second half (cf. Brugsch, *Ägyptologie*, p. 331). Since the waxing moon was the symbol and index of virility and fecundity,<sup>42</sup> whence it was represented as a bull (*bûru eqdu*, etc.) or an ass,<sup>43</sup> the conception of the emasculation of the waning moon was perfectly natural, especially in a land where religious castration played so important a rôle as in Babylonia. We are fortunately in a position to demonstrate the existence of the conception in Mesopotamia by independent evidence. According to a ritual for lunar eclipses, *KB* 6. 2. 42 ff. (cf. also Frank, *Religion*, pp. 118 ff.), if an eclipse occurs in Adar, the king is to touch the head of an *assinnu*, which will give him the power to conquer his foes (rev. 14). In Iyyar the king was instructed to look at a *kurgarû* (Gallus), who would thereupon pray on behalf of the king.<sup>44</sup> The primary significance of this curious ritual appears from the prescription for Ab, when the king was required to kiss<sup>45</sup> the face of an old woman. As may be seen from the formula *lumnu ippatar*, 'the evil will be averted,' the original purpose of all this rigmarole was to turn away the harm that might come to the land from the threatened destruction of

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treten,' or *âš-SUGUŠ (DUgunu)-bar (UD)-ra*. Radau, in view of the writing *âš-DU-ûr* (see *Hilprecht Anniv. Vol.*, p. 420, n. 12), proposes to read *âš-gu(b)-ûr*, which is hardly probable. The correct writing is *âš-kâš* (the gloss *im*, *CT* 24. 18. 17 = 30, 10 is almost certainly erroneous; for *KÂŠ = im* see above)-*bar(UD)-ra*, which may mean, 'The one who makes decisions' (*ka-âš-bar = purussê parâsu*; Sum. *kašbar* can hardly be separated from *kasipar* in the Elamite divine name *Amman-kasipar*, which may correspond to a Sum. \**Amna-ka-âš-bar = šamaš pâris purussê*); IVR 9. 46 the moon-god is called *umun ka-âš-bar-ra an-ki-a*, 'Lord who makes the decisions of heaven and earth.' Just as the fire-god *Gišbara* becomes \**Gibara*, \**Gibira*, *Gira*, so *Aškašbar* might be simplified to \**Aškabar*, \**Aškar*, which the Akkadians perhaps associated with *zaqâru*, 'be exalted,' by popular etymology.

<sup>42</sup> I have treated this conception for Babylonia in an article to appear in this JOURNAL, entitled *Gilgames and Engidu*. The Egyptian fancy that the moon is a fecundating bull is reflected in the story of the generation of Apis, Plutarch, *ibid.* 43, *ὅταν φῶς ἐπέλῃ γόνιμον ἀπὸ τῆς σελήνης καὶ καθάψηται βοὸς ὀργώσης* (in heat).

<sup>43</sup> See my article cited in the previous note.

<sup>44</sup> So interpret with Frank.

<sup>45</sup> So Jensen; Frank's derivation of *lis-si-ik* from *nasâku*, *issuk*, is impossible. The *s* is an Assyrian dialecticism.



the moon. Hence the ritual had as its first object the restoration of the moon, an aim no longer attained by such primitive devices as noise, but secured by the more mysterious and efficacious means of magic. In another study evidence has been collected showing that the analogy between the monthly lunar obscuration and the lunar eclipse is closely paralleled by the conceptions of lunar mythology. The eclipse was simply an irregular and alarmingly rapid repetition of the monthly phenomenon. The basis of the ceremonies mentioned was, therefore, that the king should, by the royal touch, communicate some of his virtue to the eunuch or old woman, and thereby, through the medium of sympathetic magic, induce the gods to revivify the dwindling moon (senescent or emasculated, both ideas which survive most explicitly in Egyptian mythology, which was much more primitive than Babylonian).

From the standpoint of comparative religion, the conception of the eunuch-moon descending into Hades for three days (the *ûmê bubbuli*) to rescue the goddess of life, and thereby save a dying world, is most interesting. The doctrine must have become very important in the late Mesopotamian Gnosis, of which we know so little—'die Volksreligion lebt in der Mystik wieder' (Dieterich, *Mutter Erde*<sup>2</sup>, p. 37). Let us, however, turn back to less dangerous and more productive fields. As above noted, Aqûsunamer is a reflection of Tammuz, standing in the same relation to him as the Galli stood to Attis. This is not the place to discuss the origin of ritual castration, except in its mythological aspects. The Galli are the representatives of the god, who, according to the most popular theory, emasculated himself to preserve his chastity.<sup>46</sup> In an older theory, he made a sacrifice of his own fecundity in order that nature might be fecundated, a view which proved too abstract for the masses, and was perpetuated by the theologians. From the purely mythological point of view, however, the self-mutilating god of fertility is the waning moon—in both Babylonian and Egyptian mythology the moon is *αὐτάρκης* and *αὐτογενήτωρ*. So also the mutilation and dissection of the body of Osiris into fourteen

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<sup>46</sup> For the variations of this myth see my article, *Historical and Mythical Elements in the Story of Joseph*, to appear in *JBL*.

pieces by Set refers to the progressive mutilation of the waning moon, as expressly reported by Plutarch (*De Isid. et Osir.* 42: Τὸν δ' εἰς δεκατέσσαρα μέρη τοῦ Ὀσίριδος διασπασμὸν αἰνίττονται πρὸς τὰς ἡμέρας, ἐν αἷς φθίνει μετὰ πανσέληνον ἄχρι νουμενίας τὸ ἄστρον), who here, as often elsewhere, hands down material of great value, despite Frazer's *caveat* (see above); the Egyptian priests hung on to the most primitive ideas with astonishing tenacity. Similarly, it is almost impossible to escape the conviction that the bark or coffin of Tammuz and Osiris goes back ultimately to the lunar bark, which for three days is entirely submerged—the *mà-su(d)-a* 'submerged boat,' of Tammuz. Naturally the goddess of fertility also has a *mà-su(d)-a*, just as she possesses the specifically lunar *mà-gur* (see above, and Langdon, *Tammuz and Ishtar*, p. 58) The ark-coffin of Osiris, in which he is thrown into the Nile after reigning 28 years,<sup>47</sup> is also a lunar bark, since Osiris himself is primarily lunar (see above). As Chassinat,<sup>48</sup> however, points out, for entirely different reasons, Osiris-Apis really ruled (or lived) only 25 or 26 years, corresponding exactly to the number of days during which the moon is visible. Such transferences of myths, functions and attributes from one god to another related one, or from one sphere of a god's activity to another, can surely occasion no surprise, at our present level of knowledge. While far from being a lunar mythologist, I cannot but consider it unfortunate that Assyriologists have not looked for more traces of lunar myths in their rich field.

While the collateral evidence for the association of the moon with (the god of) fertility is very extensive (see above, and my article *Gilgames and Engidu*, to appear in this JOURNAL), the only direct proof of an explicit parallelism between the lunar cycle and the growth of vegetation comes, curiously enough, from Jewish sources. *Genesis Rabba*, 16, 3, says of the fertility of the Euphrates Valley: אדם נוטע בי נטיעה והיא עושה לשלשים 'If a man plants a garden in me, it produces in thirty days (a lunar month); if one sows in me, the sprout appears in three days (the time of the moon's burial equated to the time of burial of the seed).' The myth of the resurrection of the buried seed in three days is not

<sup>47</sup> Plutarch, *ibid.* 13.

<sup>48</sup> *RT* 38. 33.

uncommon in subtropical countries; I remember as a boy reading in a mission journal of a beautiful case from Paraguay, where the maize-hero rose after three days burial to save the people during a famine.

As a result of these conceptions the moon was thought to play some part in the resurrection of vegetation, and was hence the natural agent sent down to the underworld<sup>49</sup> during the period of lunar darkness (in the spring!) to bring to life the goddess of fertility. Since the moon is the astral receptacle of the water of life, other associations may have arisen, whose cumulative effect established the myth on a firm basis. As noted already, however, the curse of Ereškigal is not astral at all, but refers solely to the envoy of the gods as a cinaedus.

If any problems have been solved in the foregoing study, it has been solely because of the combination of the philological method with the comparative mythological. So far as possible both must be given their rights, while kept rigidly within bounds at the same time. Otherwise, it is evident, the results are likely to be defective or distorted. While our knowledge of Sumerian and even of Assyrian is imperfect, we must know what to expect, placing ourselves, so far as practicable, in the milieu of the times; if, on the other hand, we tackle the texts from the comparative angle, without an adequate philological equipment, the results are usually worthless, except as collections of illustrative material.

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<sup>49</sup> The sojourn of the moon in the underworld seems to have played a much more important rôle in mythology than we are accustomed to think, though it appears more rarely, as befits its erratic character, than the daily passage of the sun through the underworld. *Μην καταχθόνιος* (cf. Roscher, 2. 999 and 2750) is a title referring probably to the god's stay in the underworld during the three days of invisibility. Cf. also Plutarch's curious story of Timarchus (*De genio Socratis*, 22), where the moon is overtaken by the Styx during lunar eclipses, *δαμόνων ἐπιχθονίων οὐσα*. The conceit is certainly drawn from an older source.